

## Cultural and Social Associations in Kassa in the Second Half of the 19th Century

For a long time, the historical investigation of associations was linked to the concept of *achieving middle class status* as the great many interpretations of the term were equally adaptable for researchers. This was because in contrast to the state, the associations were the free partnerships of legally equal citizens which (although not exclusively) served the needs of culture, science, education and health care, or in one word, the needs of the progress of *civilisation*. The majority of these organisations contributed to the breaking down of feudal and religious barriers, strengthening the civil character of social life, patterns of behaviour or altruism. But through the transformation and assumed unification of the way of life, associations promoted the *achieving lower middle class status* of workers and other social elements difficult to capture with layer categories as well as the *achieving middle class status* of peasants in villages and agricultural towns.<sup>1</sup>

These varied interpretations of achieving middle class status also apply to the different trends in association research (e.g. the investigation of the organisational culture, social composition or the role in urbanisation of the particular association<sup>2</sup>), but in this paper, I have no opportunity to elaborate on any of these in appropriate detail. Through the presentation of the objectives and membership of some associations, I only seek an answer to the question whether with respect to the age of dualism, which witnessed the urbanisation of Kassa, an accelerating moving into the city and the transformation of its linguistic, religious and occupational structure, the abovementioned interpretation frameworks are suitable or satisfactory to give an account for the different phenomena of varied association life or not.

### I. Social associations

One often faces difficulties when attempting to classify associations according to their objectives, which is because of their varied character. Therefore, I resort to Gyula Lekly's classification. He was a technical school teacher who knew Kassa associations in the age of dualism very well, himself being quite an active participant in them. In the monograph of Abaúj-Torna county and Kassa published in 1896, Lekly distinguishes three types of

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Pajkossy 1993: 6–9, Gyáni 1995: 181–190, Papházi 1997: 13–45, Tóth 2005: 138–139. (The study was made in the programme of the Ethnographic Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Debrecen University, with a Bolyai grant.)

<sup>2</sup> For this, see Tóth 2005: 17–28.

associations: 'social associations in a narrower sense', cultural and self-development associations, and charity and aid associations.<sup>3</sup>

In Kassa, István Széchenyi's initiative found its followers very quickly: in 1828, Társalgási Egylet ('Conversation Club') (Nagy Kaszinó 'the Grand Casino') was established. According to its regulations, written 3 years later in the German and Hungarian languages, it was 'the association of educated men', in which 'regardless of his civil status, every noble man of worthy conduct' could become a member. According to this, citizenship was not a prerequisite of membership and although its social composition cannot be determined and the changes cannot be precisely tracked, it can safely be concluded that the rate of aristocrats residing in the county or in Kassa, who constituted the majority in the period of foundation, already started decreasing in the feudal period while that of those having a civil occupation, primarily that of wealthy merchants and craftsmen was on the increase. This group can already be recognised in the 1855 list of members<sup>4</sup>, and in the following decades, the new middle-class elite: the entrepreneur-bourgeois, city officials and professionals became dominant among the members (and naturally, in the board, too). (From the middle 1880s, Gyula Lekly was its director.)<sup>5</sup>

In 1867, Polgári Társaskör ('Civil Club') was established in one of the oldest middle class residences of the city, Lőcsei House. Its objectives included the organisation of 'the enjoyment of refined social life', the promotion of the 'rise of the civil element' and the support through aids of the members impoverished through no fault of their own as well as the widows and orphans of the latter. Although self-help and the establishment of an aid fund did not belong to the typical functions of social associations, still, it was in line with the clearly formulated intentions of the association: 'those in austere financial conditions should also be able to participate.' Its foundation was initiated by Mihály Balázs, teacher of the community elementary school. In 1867, it had about 130 members, most of whom were craftsmen but there were also merchants and teachers among them (shoemaker András Tordássy was elected director of it). The association had an institutional relationship with the

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<sup>3</sup> Lekly wrote the chapter entitled 'Kassa Society', in which he listed dozens of associations. This paper is concerned with the organisations belonging to the first two categories. Lekly 1896: 209–211.

<sup>4</sup> Merchant Sámuel Mahr, Sándor Novelty, who opened a grocer's shop in 1849, Károly and József Moll, founders of an earthenware factory, owner of an iron and wire factory Vilmos Gosznovitzer (principal of the body of merchants) and joiner and millwork jobber (later owner of a floorboard factory) József Láng. (Of them, the Novelty and Molls had the rank of noblemen.) In 1855, the Jewish jeweller József Adler, who had been admitted to the board of merchants in the previous year, was also a member of the casino. Kerekes 1913.

<sup>5</sup> A kassai Casino alapszabályai tagjainak névsorával. ('Regulations of Kassa Casino with the list of its members' names.) Kassa, 1832, A Kassai Társalgási Egylet (Casino) alapszabályai. ('Regulations of Kassa Conversation Club (Casino).') Kassa, 1885, Hungarian National Archives (hereinafter referred to with Hungarian abbreviation as: MOL) K 150. 417.cs. 21767/1875.

local craftsmen's club, and although in the following decades, it also had city aldermen, teachers and factory owners among its members<sup>6</sup> (what is more, they could get mayor Tivadar Münster to be their chairman), which certainly enhanced the status of the organisation, its social composition remained basically the same.<sup>7</sup>

In chronological order, the next social association, Kassai Kaszinó ('Kassa Casino') was founded in 1878. It had its rooms in one of the most atmospheric old buildings of Fő utca (High Street), Forgách Palace. No members' lists have remained for this association but only its chairmen and directors in the 1890s are known. The former, representative position was filled by Imre Darvas of Nagyrét, retired Lord Lieutenant of Abaúj-Torna county and Kassa, and Count László Semsey, imperial and royal lord-in-waiting while its directors were Gábor Harmos, chairman of the Regional High Court in Kassa, chief notary of Nógrád county, then judge of the Regional High Court in Kassa, Endre Rakovszky, also having started his career in county administration and Kálmán Slachta, director of the savings bank. All of them were landowners and holders of noble (aristocratic) titles. In addition to the former, descendants of the oldest patrician families with the most extended family relations, Ödön Lasz gallner, director of mill, and Gyula Éder city notary were elected. It is not known who the initiators were but it seems that Kassai Kaszinó ensured the segregation of county clerks and landowners of medium and big estates. According to István Weis' observation made later, besides them, those could join the association who 'either had very good names or had very good manners and were very wealthy, or had such connections in the county which opened the doors for them.'<sup>8</sup>

This did not put an end to the establishment of social associations. In 1880, the merchants' body, having a long past of several centuries, was transformed into a trade association which decided to form a social association for tradesmen in cooperation with the association of young tradesmen. Kereskedő Kaszinó ('Merchants' Casino) started its operations with 170 members in 1881. Its declared objectives included the promotion of the interests of the 'trade class', having conversations and providing 'spiritual motivation' as well as the 'use and spread' of the Hungarian language. To achieve these objectives, there were plans to set up a

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<sup>6</sup> E.g. Vendel T first deputy clerk, dr Arnold Hoffman teacher of theology, Gyula Sztudinka furniture manufacturer and József Láng. At the same time, self-help was deleted from among the objectives of the association.

<sup>7</sup> MOL K 150. 2478. cs. 21357/1894, A Kassai Polgári Társaskör alapszabályai ('Regulations of Kassa Civil Club.. Kassa, 1893, Köves 1931.

<sup>8</sup> On the basis of Kassai Kalauz. Czim-Naptár 1891–1895. ('Kassa guide. List of addresses and calendar 1891-1895.'), Lekly 1896: 209–211, István Weis is quoted in Kövér 1995: 220.

library and an amusement hall and to organise scientific lectures and discuss members' essays.

Thus, the social association was established with the assistance of the merchants' board so it could also promote the preservation of the former connections, the safeguarding of interests and the acquisition of the new skills and knowledge of the trade. The connection can be detected in the persons of the leaders of the association (and presumably, in the members, too) as Károly Szakmáry became chairman and his secretary was Andor Gyula Siposs, who held the same positions in the trade association, as well.<sup>9</sup>

The choice presented so far was still not enough for Kassa citizens craving for social life. In 1893, Kassai Társaskör ('Kassa Club'), also known as the Jewish casino, was established (its documents have not been preserved, either). In the 1890s, its director was attorney-at-law József Engel, followed by landowner Jenő Holländer while its board consisted of wealthy merchants, private officials and professionals (Artúr Scharman, Károly Adler, Lipót Glück, Péter Lorber, Samu Fényes).<sup>10</sup>

Finally, mention must be made of another social association that had a different function from the former and displayed some characteristics of the citizenship of free royal boroughs becoming involved in and city life becoming interwoven with politics. In 1869, Kassai Deák-kör ('Kassa Deák Circle') was established. According to its regulations, it intended to promote 'liberal progress based on democratic principles' and enforce it in the 'solution' of both local and national 'issues'. For this purpose, it set the objective to hold public meetings and board meetings, and 'enliven and enlighten' the public 'through the press, dialogue and exchange of ideas'. The circle set up three special committees: a political one to evaluate the decisions of the government and propose reforms, another one involved in city matters to discuss local 'issues' and promote their implementation, and one concerned with the press to enforce the interests of the circle in daily papers. In order to recruit members and popularise its objectives, the circle placed sheets at several points in the city for citizens to sign (the precondition of membership was only a record of 'civil honesty' and the payment of the membership fee of 1 Forint per year.)

Nothing is known either about the activities of Deák-kör or about whether it became permanent or was only established to support the candidate of the party in power at the 1869 elections. However, its intentions (or political ideals) included the protection of

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<sup>9</sup> MOL K 150. 884. cs. 10884/1881, 886. cs. 22232/1881, Kerekes 1913: 239.

<sup>10</sup> On the basis of Kassai Kalauz. Czim-Naptár 1893–1896. ('Kassa guide. List of addresses and calendar 1893–1896.')

constitutionalism and the Austro-Hungarian compromise, involvement in city politics, the enlivening of public life and publicity and the creation of the forums of free opinion forming.

The social composition of the circle is seemingly 'democratic'. The board consisted of no fewer than 100 people, and aristocrats (Ferenc Barkóczy, Rezső Csáky, János Klobusiczky), city and county clerks (Pál Ardényi, Gyula Szent-Lélek), professionals (Lajos Alexy, Jónát Brósz), several members of the entrepreneurial elite (Ignác Ungár, Károly Elischer), merchants and craftsmen (Sándor Novelly, Ágoston Lasz gallner, Dániel Haydu, Károly Fröhlich), that is, 'old' and 'new' citizens, Catholics (among them bishop of Kassa diocese János Perger, Lutherans and Israelites, the members of Nagy Kaszinó and Polgári Társaskör likewise joined the association. Thus, Deák-kör attracted people of very different social standing (it is true that in all probability, they had the most superficial personal relations among all the associations), but a well-definable group of it was made up of Lutheran citizens linked with family connections.<sup>11</sup> And perhaps it was not by chance that soapmaker Dániel Haydu, belonging to the former group, was elected chairman of the association.

## II. Cultural and self-development associations

In his paper listing Kassa associations, Gyula Lekly put cultural associations concerned with literature, arts and sciences and self-development associations in the second category. Let us continue following his classification in seeking an answer to the question what kind of cultural ideals the different societies represented, and for it, what kind of organisational culture they adopted (including their relation to the state, the churches or the city).

Historical literature considers singing associations to be typical civil organisations which played a determining role in the cultural life of towns, in the organisation of really active microcommunities and in how individuals spent their free time.<sup>12</sup> After some antecedents in the Reform Age, Első Magyar Dalegylet ('First Hungarian Singing Association') was formed 'in the heart of the city' in Kassa in 1867. According to its regulations, elaborated in 1873, it intended to 'have and give entertainment through combining songs and music, establish the broadest cooperation relations in social terms and promote the development of singing through the spread of music'. It is not known what the underlined attachment to the city exactly meant (financial support or participation in the organisational work). In any case, this

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<sup>11</sup> Vilmos Benczúr, József Loósz, Dániel Haydu, Gyula Fiedler, Ágoston Lasz gallner, Rezső Záhr. The family (and business) connections were revealed by György Kerekes for several generations in his book published in 1913. MOL K 150. 53. cs. 4876/1869, Kerekes 1913: 36–37.

<sup>12</sup> For example, Pl. Kruppa 1992: 82.

enhanced the prestige of the association among the others. It represented Kassa as a community not only in local events but also in the singing competitions held in a lot of places throughout the country and given wide publicity. This way, the singing association could become a device of cultural marketing and strengthened its members' identity, attached to the city.<sup>13</sup>

It was another type of cultural ideal and identity policy that led to the establishment of Kassai Nemzeti Kör ('Kassa National Circle') in 1881. It regarded as its objective 'to promote culture as well as reflections and exchange of ideas of public benefit' therefore it held scientific and literary reading sessions and singing and musical performances and poem recitals. However, it also had a more specific intention, formulated by court judge Gyula Giczey, chairman of the founding operative committee in the following way: 'with respect to local conditions, it is necessary to establish an association which regards it one of its main objectives to spread the use of the Hungarian national language among the inhabitants of different mother tongues living in our city.' This was not entirely free from conflicts in Kassa public life at the beginning of the 1880s – this is also hinted at in Giczey's words: they had to face 'the malicious operation of contrary interests spreading untrue information concerning the causes of the coming into being' of the association.

There is little information about the actual activities of Nemzeti Kör but on account of its importance, they published the material of one of the 'scientific' reading sessions held by Gyula Lekly in 1885. I quote a few ideas from it as it reveals a lot about the intellectual atmosphere of the association: 'The majority of Kassa's young craftsmen speak Slovakian as their mother tongue even if they have the most Hungarian sounding names... [The city] must undertake a leading role in the great national movements, and must flourish the flag of glory under which Kassa patriots made so many sacrifices for the nation in the past. The time when Upper Hungary worked together with Transylvania must be brought back... It should be our common objective to change our varied ethnographic map. A significant number of our citizens – I do not mean the professionals – are Germans and the common people are Slovaks.'<sup>14</sup>

A key motive behind the foundation of Nemzeti Kör was the strengthening of national identity and the Magyarization of the inhabitants of the city whose native language was not Hungarian. The association subordinated education and the spread of culture to this objective, too. Thus, its coming into being was due to the political philosophy and the intentions of those

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<sup>13</sup> In 1870, they came third in the first national singing competition, organised in Pest. In 1873, they participated in Nagyvárad singing competition. MOL K 150. 325. cs. 8987/1874, Schalkház 1944: 8.

<sup>14</sup> Lekly 1885.

in political power, which determined its future. After a few years' activities, in 1886, it was replaced by Abaúj-Tornavármegyei és Kassai Közművelődési Egyesület ('The Cultural Association of Abaúj-Torna County and Kassa'), which extended the programme of Magyarization to the whole count and combined it with the education of common people therefore it needed a better organisation.<sup>15</sup>

The education of common people was primarily the task of elementary school teachers who founded Kassa vidéki Római Katolikus Néptanítók Egyesülete ('The Kassa Region Association of Roman Catholic Elementary School Teachers') in 1885. According to its regulations, the association united the teachers of church and state elementary schools in the spirit of Roman Catholicism, improved their 'social and financial status', helped their self-development through the discussion of topics set by church authorities, and supported them or their family members in case of illness or death. The association consisted of three dioceses (Kassa, Sacza and Szepesi), which were themselves made up of circles, holding annual meetings (which were obligatory for members to attend), where the decrees issued on public education were read out. With the board's preliminary permission, teachers were allowed to deliver lectures on educational and organisational topics that were followed by discussion. Legally, the association was controlled by the bishop of Kassa, and Mihály Hámorszki, the priest of Felsőtőkés, was elected chairman.<sup>16</sup>

There was an association founded for teachers in Kassa already in the 1870s, which indicates the activation of Catholic public education as well as the appearance of an organisational culture different from the previous ones. Its structure followed church hierarchy therefore the members in the different dioceses were isolated from each other. Training and giving financial support were centralized, they were controlled and supervised by the church authorities, and were combined with the control of teachers. (Membership fees were forwarded to the deans, who decided on financial aid.) And although there are no data available about what devices the church had to persuade teachers to join the association, and with what efficiency it applied them, the association may both have contributed to the maintenance of the separation of denominations and the strengthening of Catholic corporatism.

The number of self-development associations increased after the decade of absolutism, from the middle of the 1860s. These were partly established by the students of schools and partly

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<sup>15</sup> Lekly 1896: 209–211.

<sup>16</sup> MOL K 150. 1354. cs. 27273/1885.

by apprentices employed in industry. In 1877 and 1878, as many as two societies were established at the royal academy of law. The first was the reading circle, which set the objectives of developing its members' knowledge in the fields of law and state administration, and enhancing their level of culture and 'moral credibility'. The circle set up its own library, held reading sessions, discussions and other programmes 'developing the mind and spirit', and even published a yearbook. László Brósz, coming from a German family in the Highlands, who was in all probability the most active organiser, was elected chairman. One year later, the singing circle of the law academy was established. It intended to facilitate self-development in the field of the art of music, completed with the 'arousing and development of the artistic sense' of the students.<sup>17</sup> The reading circle could play a role in vocational socialisation and in the strengthening of professional and group awareness, thus contributing to professionalization. In addition, just like the singing circle, the reading circle was also founded because there was a demand for culture and continuous self-development (*Bildung*), inseparable from the former, and promoted the latter becoming an internalised value, which later led to members becoming active in the association and in the cultural life of the community.<sup>18</sup>

What kind of cultural philosophy or individual and collective social strategies can be assumed as the underlying motive for the industrial workers' establishing associations? In addition to giving financial aid, to which they only allocated the interests of the membership fees remaining annually, Kassai Iparos Ifjúság Önképző és Segélyegylete ('Association for Self-development and Aid of Young Craftsmen in Kassa'), established in 1869, paid more attention to culture, discussions and the improvement of 'skills and useful institutions within its social scope' but also created opportunities for 'decent entertainment with the exclusion of any gambling games'. The general assembly, held one year later, decided to elect 'a respectable man of common sense ... from the middle class' as honorary chairman, a person who would make the association 'respected' and would establish contact with other associations.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> MOL K 150. 600. cs. 18734/1877, 683. cs. 20343/1878.

<sup>18</sup> László Brósz, who became a wealthy lawyer, took part in the foundation of Kassai Irodalmi Társaság ('Literary Society of Kassa')(predecessor of Kazinczy Circle), also worked as member of the theatrical board of Kassa, the Royal Hungarian Scientific Society and Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület ('Hungarian Cultural Association of Transylvania') but was president of the Lutheran congregation, as well. On the basis of Kassai Kalauz. Czim-Naptár ('Kassa guide. List of addresses and calendar.') 1900., Keller 2010. 48–50.

<sup>19</sup> MOL K 150. 81. cs. 2078/1870.



In this case, the study of the regulations may be misleading as in order to avoid the retorting or ban of the authorities, they did not mention the possible political intentions.<sup>20</sup> Still, in my opinion, this organisation had the character of a social association, and self-development contributed to the adoption of middle class models of sociability and the provision of the supply of skilled tradesmen.

The Catholic church was active not only in the organisation of teachers but also in that of apprentices 'Pearls have been missing from the jewels of the city of Kassa, its bouquet has been lacking this flower for long' – this was how one of the founders commented on the establishment of Katolikus Legényegylet ('Association for Catholic lads') in 1887, which, according to its regulations, combined the education of its members with the 'arousal of religious and civil sense' with means different from those of the previously mentioned associations. This was because in addition to the reading sessions, teachers of the association gave lectures and practical classes on a wide range of topics (theology, ethics, national history, geography, natural sciences, drawing up civil law documents, accounting, drawing, physical education, singing). Tailored to the participants' needs, the classes were held in Hungarian, German or Slovakian. On the other hand, the discussion of political issues and 'altercating behaviour' were prohibited by the 'laws' of the association. Similarly, its organisation and control aimed at compliance with the requirements of Roman Catholic worship and the regulation and control of the apprentices' way of life. The main patron of the association was the diocesan of Kassa, and teachers, a priest and craftsmen were elected as members of the directorate.<sup>21</sup> The deans were responsible for internal order. They warned their fellow members about their duties with 'love and gentleness'.<sup>22</sup>

The association of Catholic lads, maintaining a home for 50 apprentices, indicates the adoption of Adolf Kolping's movement in Kassa. It was a centralised educational programme seeking to find Catholic answers to the problems of family life, and related to it, the problems of the social integration of people moving into towns from the provinces and finding employment in industry. Just like any other Kolping organisations, the association required its members to comply with clearly defined ethic norms and behavioural patterns: diligence, frugality, sense of duty, love of fellow-men and Christian humility. On the one hand, these

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<sup>20</sup> In 1877, the Minister of the Interior ordered that Kassai Munkások Önképző Egylete ('Association of Kassa workers for self-development'), which set the similar objective of making it possible for apprentices to spend their free time in a civilised way and the cultivation and spread of the Hungarian language, should add the following provision to its regulations: the association 'is not involved in social democratic issues.' MOL K 150. 602. cs. 34231/1877.

<sup>21</sup> Alajos Klekner, Geyza Katinszky, Gyula Sztudinka and Ede Buliczka.

<sup>22</sup> MOL K 150. 1579. cs. 40322/1887.

characterised the employment relation subordinating the apprentice to the employer's authority who acted like a family head. On the other hand, this offered a clear model for socialisation and mobility: it prepared youngsters for family life and independent craftsmanship, which was expected to ensure the continuity and survival of the 'old and honest class of craftsmen' in contrast to factory work 'involving moral dangers'.

### III. Summary

The paper presents some of the Kassa associations that existed in the age of dualism. In most of the cases, their presentation only relies on the regulations and members' lists which may make the conclusions hypothesis-like. The social composition of associations is focussed on. Társalgási Egylet (Nagy Kaszinó) admitted wealthy merchants, craftsmen and city officials even before 1848. This may have been a new form of the expression of their social prestige, making distinctions between citizens in the Reform Age.<sup>23</sup> In the following decades, the casino became an exclusive association of the middle class elite. As one of the principals put it: it was 'the social centre of our city'. Still, one cannot be sure that the cultural and mentality differences between the different social groups were eliminated by the fact that they were all members. Here, suffice it to refer to Gyula Lekly, settling in the city in the 1870s, who distinguishes *middle class* and *professionals* according to their nationality.

The craftsmen and merchants of the petty bourgeois, founding Polgári Társaskör, followed the middle class models of social life, and intended to 'strengthen' the middle class system of values, the most important components of which they considered to be culture, expertise and patriotism. The recommendation system was also adopted from the practice of Társalgási Egylet, and there were common members, too. It is true, however, that in Társaskör, a really active role was played by teachers or deputy clerks who had been elected directors. The exclusivity and transformation into a city association of Nagy Kaszinó was probably not satisfactory for county officials and landowners therefore they joined Kassai Kaszinó. The foundation of the Jewish social circle as well as the participation of Israelites in Társalgási Egylet indicates that the individual strategies of social conformity, the adoption of the form of middle class associations and denominational affiliations co-existed without excluding each other.

In the Reform Age, the participation of middle class people and their descendents in associations may be indicative of a change in their social status. The 'forefathers of

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<sup>23</sup> The same tendency was characteristic of Pest National Casino. Tóth 2005: 142–154.

entrepreneurs', wealthy merchants (and their wives) could be found among the members of several associations. In addition to the abovementioned Deák-kör, József Moll was vice chairman of the Gymnastics Association in 1868, Mrs Rezső Záhr, Mrs Sándor Novelly, Mrs Károly Spielmann, the daughters of Ágoston Laszgallner, Mrs Geyza Benczúr and Mrs László Aranyossy were on the board of Fröbel Association, founded in 1873<sup>24</sup>, while Rezső Záhr, Sándor Novelly, Gyula Fiedler, Károly Szakmáry and Berti Laszgallner were the participants of the statutory meeting of the Skaters' Association in 1874. In Kereskedő Kaszinó, initiated by the tradesmen's board, which not only admitted the entrepreneurs of the bourgeois era but also gradually enhanced their influence, Károly Szakmáry and Károly Spielmann fulfilled leading positions.<sup>25</sup> These families were integrated into the middle class elite, and their membership in associations may have promoted this process, the establishing of new social connections and the reinforcement of their (modern) civil identity (e.g. charity work, stabilisation of a middle class lifestyle).<sup>26</sup> The investigation of the names calls attention to another thing. We are concerned with related families here so the survival of traditional social bonds cannot be excluded from the wide variety of individual and collective intentions leading to the foundation of associations, either.

In the following chapter, culture and (self)-development were investigated in the context of political ideas, and it was examined in what association environments this manifested itself. As Vormärz's German models reveal, liberal, democratic and national ideas co-existed in the singing societies<sup>27</sup>; but we have less information about how it was in the case of Kassa singing association, founded in 1867 mostly with the participation of German citizens. Its name contained the attribute *Hungarian*, and its regulations, underlining the democratism of members' admission and association, was also written in the Hungarian language. In 1870, the association celebrated Beethoven's centenary, a few years later, they performed Liszt's vocal mass in c minor in Nagyvárad, and invited the maestro to Kassa. Therefore, it seems that German culture, local attachment and patriotism could all find their self-expression in the singing association.<sup>28</sup> After some time, however, militant nationalism also became a community forming factor. There were associations, e.g. those of young merchants, joiner apprentices or Kereskedő Kaszinó, whose objectives included the development of the knowledge of the Hungarian language of their members ('spread' of the language), which

<sup>24</sup> Benczúr was Kassa's chief public prosecutor and the supervisor of the Lutheran church while attorney-at-law Aranyossy was president of the local savings bank. Kerekes 1913: 37.

<sup>25</sup> MOL K 150. 33. cs. 2217/1868, 240. cs. 33930/1873, 329. cs. 46231/1874, Kerekes 1913: 239.

<sup>26</sup> A „modern polgárság előfutáiról” ('On 'the forefathers of a modern middle class') Bácskai 2006: 29–35.

<sup>27</sup> Papházi 1997: 53.

<sup>28</sup> Kaschauer Zeitung 1872. 9.25.

served communication and the enlarging of their social connections. On the other hand, Nemzeti Kör and its successor, Abaúj-Tornavármegyei és Kassai Közművelődési Egyesület followed the more and more radical programme of Magyarization (or 're-Magyarization', that is, the restoration of ethnic continuity). In their rhetorics, Kassa appeared as the preserver of the traditions of the nation.

Kassa associations were also distinguished according to the way of acquiring culture. The members of the self-development and singing circle founded in the law academy acquired qualifications and culture (and music aesthetical knowledge as a part of it) out of an inner need in an autonomous social life. On the other hand, in Katolikus Legényegylet, respectable principals educated apprentices in the spirit of Christian religious morals, which included the regulation of their lifestyle, as well; and in the association of Catholic elementary school teachers, self-development and public education were both supervised by church authorities. These changes had their impact on the organisation of the associations, too. The students of the law academy worked out the rules of cooperation together so the individuals formed the community. In contrast, Catholic associations realized the neo-conservative ideology of sociability: the bureaucratic rules of social relations became prevalent, and in Katolikus Legényegylet, the individual's freedom of action was not restricted by the state but by the 'laws of the association'.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Szabó 2003: 18–19.

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